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TRIBAL STUDIES IN NORTHERN NIGERIA

CHAPTER X

THE KATAB AND THEIR NEIGHBOURS

101 *General.*—There is a group of tribes situated in the Zaria and Plateau Provinces which speak a common tongue and display so much uniformity of cultural traits that the group may almost be regarded as constituting a single tribe and each division of the group as constituting a sub-tribe. There is, however, no political cohesion between the divisions and no consciousness of relationship other than that conferred by continuous social intercourse. The group includes the Katab, Kachichere, Morwa, Ataka, and Kagoro, to use the terms by which they are known to the outside world, though not to themselves.

Closely associated culturally, and to some extent also linguistically, with the above group are the Kaje, Kamantan, Jaba, and Ikulu, and, to a lesser extent, the Kagoma.

[131] The Katab, Kachichere, Kamantan, Ikulu, a section of the Jaba, and a section of the Kaje, are situated in the Zaria Province, while the remainder are in the Plateau Province. The Morwa, Kagoro, and the Plateau section of the Jaba are independent, i.e. they deal directly with the British administrative officer; but the remaining communities are subject to the jurisdiction of the Fulani Emirs of Zaria or Jemaa. It is in some respects unfortunate that a single ethnic unit should be divided between two provinces, and that some sections should be subject to one form of government, and others to another. If this arrangement is necessary for historical and local considerations, care should be exercised that a reasonable amount of administrative uniformity is secured, and that, in such important matters as the regulations governing marriage, modifications in native custom should not be introduced among groups in one province

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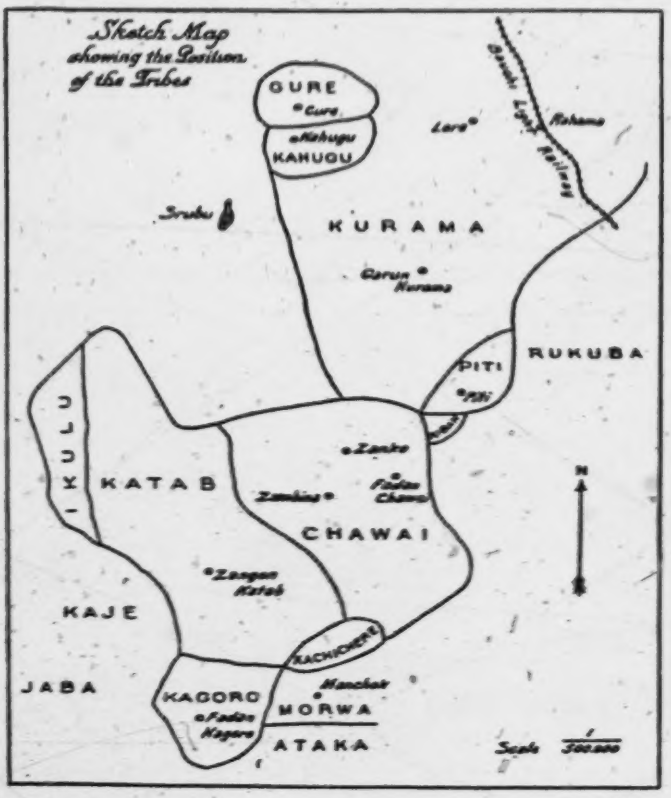
without reference to their effect on fellow-groups in the neighbouring province. To this reference will be made later.

Geography.—The physical character of the country varies considerably. The Katab district may be described generally as undulating, the Morwa as a flat, fertile plain, the Ataka as



hilly, and the Kagoro as a plain flanked by ranges of hills, the most beautiful, perhaps, in the whole of Nigeria. These hills rise to form the plateau from which in comparatively recent times the Kagoro and Ataka descended to their present habitat. The plain country is open savannah with few large trees. It is fairly well watered, the rainfall, at a computation, averaging

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anything from 45–60 inches. The attached map indicates the relative position of the various tribes. 132

History.—Prior to the establishment of the Fulani-Beri-Beri régime in the early days of the nineteenth century, the locality we are considering had fallen in varying degrees under the influence of the Habe rulers of Zaria, or of their representatives and allies, such as the Chiefs of Kauru, Karigi, and Kajuru. The Katab were certainly to some extent subservient to Kauru, and the Morwa and Kaje to Zaria; while the Kamantan and probably also the warlike Kagoro seem to have paid tribute to Kajuru. The conquest of Zaria by Mallam Musa, and the establishment of Mallam Usuman at Jemaa at the beginning of last century merely meant a change of masters for the majority of these tribes. The Kagoro, however, stoutly resisted the claims of Jemaa to anything but a nominal suzerainty. They suffered heavily on more than one occasion in their attempts, ultimately successful, to maintain the independence which they still enjoy. 175

Language.—A schedule of words and phrases of the Katab language is attached. This language has been provisionally included, on grounds of vocabulary, in the Nigerian Semi-Bantu group of the Middle Sudanic Zone (see *Northern Tribes of Nigeria*, vol. ii, p. 137). It approximates in many respects to the Semi-Bantu type, but as the prefix system is very much less developed than in the typical Semi-Bantu languages such as Kurama or Ikulu, the Katab and allied languages should, in my opinion, form a separate group of the Middle Zone. It will be observed that although some plurals are formed by prefix change others are formed by a change of suffix. It is not possible to say whether the language now spoken by the Katab was their original tongue or not. If the tribe came, as stated, from the North, it is unlikely that they spoke a language identical with that of their present neighbours, the Morwa, Ataka, Kachichere, and Kagoro. Uniformity of language is only attained and maintained by continuous social contact. All that we can say is that as a result of proximity and intermarriage in recent times all these tribes have come to use a common tongue. 197

Tribal Nomenclature.—The Katab call themselves the Tyap (the *t* being palatalized). The second syllable of Katab no doubt represents the word by which the tribe call themselves. 101

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The Katab call the	Kagoro	"	Agwot ".
" " "	Morwa	"	Aholia ".
" " "	Jaba	"	Ada ".
" " "	Chawe	"	Atsomia ".
" " "	Ganawuri	"	Etien ".
" " "	Aregwe	"	Idafán ".
" " "	Berom	"	Aku:t ".
" " "	Piti	"	Epit ".
" " "	Hausa	"	Akwat ".
" " "	Fulani	"	Fatta ".

Culture Complex.—It has been said that the tribes mentioned display a remarkable cultural uniformity, the more conspicuous traits of which may be summarized as follows: (1) the use of a common language of classifying type by five of the tribes (viz. Katab, Morwa, Ataka, Kachichere, and Kagoro); (2) the peculiar type of dwelling, oblong at the base, with a pinnacled overhanging roof[1]; (3) the mushroom-shaped lumbar adornment worn by the women;[2] the use of lip discs and of a similar pattern of tribal marks; (4) exogamy in some shape or form; (5) the practice of wife-stealing or sub-marriages; (6) the practice of marriage with the grandfather's widow; (7) inheritance of father's widows,[3] and (8) head-hunting. These are the main points of contact; but it will be seen later, when we come to study the social system in detail, that there are also striking divergences, and that as regards the Ikulu we have to do with a tribe which belongs to a totally different ethnic group and has only in recent times come to adopt some of the characteristic features enumerated above.

The Katab

Social Organization

The Clans.—Socially, the Katab, who number about 11,000, consist of four patrilineal groups or clans, viz. (1) Minyam (pop. 3,600), (2) Agbat (pop. 6,100), (3) Shokwa (pop. 200), (4) Aku (pop. 960). Each clan is exogamous, that is to say that intermarriage between members of the same clan is not permitted. The clan members believe themselves to be related by descent from a common ancestor, but in some instances whole groups

[1] See sketch on p. 52.
[2] The Kagoma excepted.
[3] The Ikulu excepted.

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Kachichere

149.	Untie it	biyukgu	bijukgu
	Tie this rope	lap eyu yanka	lap ɛjujanka
	Make the boy untie the goat	tie bangwon ka biyuk jon	tiɛ bangwɔn ka bijuk dʒɔn
150.	My brothers and I, we are going but no one else	nung banga nanyurnung zinat zirany-inzit	nuŋ baŋa nanjurnuŋ zinat ziranjɪnzɪt
	Brothers, let us go and tell the Chief	nanyurnung bai zinat zi his ma gwam	nanjurnuŋ bai zinat zi his ma gwam
151.	This tree is bigger than that	akwon kane ka nare si kane mishi	akwon kane ka nare sɪ kane mɪʃɪ
		(nare = exceed ; mishi = size)	

Last night I was in my house with a white man. We heard a noise outside. He said, " Do you hear that ; they are thieves ; let us go out and see." We went out. I said : " Who are you ? " They answered, " Nothing." But I said, " You are thieves." Then we called the police and put them in prison.

Lio ta tuk in she mali nung, dung yang ganet bature (*or* bang bature iyang). Du fok mochi tosa (*or* zizi fok mochi tosa) ; gugo sihio, " fok tuni ; tambiya babiya (*or* ekhiene, " a fok aliena ; etangvia) ; yok zu wut zu li." zu wut. na hio ; " yin yine yan bia ? " se basi chim, " kiang sheva." nung inhio, " yin etangvia." se zi je dogare, zut tiaba a sarka.

Lɪɔ tə tuk in ʃe mali nuŋ, duŋ jaŋ ganet bature (or baŋ bature ijaŋ). du fɔk motʃi tɔsa (*or* zizi fɔk motʃi tɔsa). gugɔ sihɪo, " fɔk tuni ; tambija babija (*or* ɛxiene, " afɔk aliena ; ɛtaŋvia) ; jɔk zu wut zu li." zu wut. na hio, " jɪn jɪnɛ jan bia ? " se basi tʃɪm, " kiaŋ ʃeva." nuŋ ɪnhio, " jɪn ɛtaŋvia." Se zi je dogare, zut tiaba a sarka.

The Kachichere

The Kachichere, who call themselves the Aticherak (atɪʃera:k) and are known to the Katab as the Tichat (titʃa:t), are an insignificant tribe of 620 persons, of whom 470 are located in the Chawai district of Zaria Province and 150 in the Katab district. They state that they were once much more numerous and occupied a large proportion of the country now occupied by the Katab, but that the tribe was almost wiped out by a volcanic eruption which occurred about 150 years ago. This is quite probable, as there are numerous craters in the district.

There is no tribal organization, those in the Chawai district forming village-areas under the Chief of Chawai, and those in

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Kachichere
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KACHICHERE (Zaria Province).
(A dialect of Katab, *q.v.*)

1.	Head	epio	ɛpio
2.	Hair	epio	ɛpio
3.	Eye	eli	ɛli
	Two eyes	lili	lɪli feã
4.	Ear	fufwo	FuFwo
	Two ears	fufwo feang	feaŋ
5.	Nose	zuai	zuai
6.	One tooth	enyung enyung	ɛnjuŋ ɛnjuŋ
	Five teeth	yungyung ofwon	juŋjuŋ ɔfwɔn
7.	Tongue	elyam	ɛʌam
8.	Neck	fuwo	fuwo
9.	Breast (woman's)	abibein	abɪbɛɪn
10.	Heart	alio	alɪɔ
11.	Belly	vam	vam
12.	Back	azame	azame
13.	Arm	bwak	bwaːk
14.	Hand	atein bwak	atɛɪn bwak
	Two hands	atein bwak afeang	atɛɪn bwak afeaŋ
15.	Finger	gasuong	gasuɔŋ
	Five fingers	gasuong suon	gasuɔŋ suɔn
16.	Finger nail	gafwo	gafwɔ
17.	Leg	tak	taːk

Last night I was in my house with a white man; we heard a movement outside; he said, "they are thieves; let us go and see." We went and I said, "who are you?" and they answered, "nothing." But I said, "you are thieves"; so we called the police and put them in prison.

Lio shushun ashio mali nu eshi bang bature; zizi for lak atose; a se shio "atang bia; jong gwut ndi". sun gwut se nyem mongo "nyin nyan-nyan bia?" be si shim "kiang hwa ba". Amz sin shio "nyin atangwa"; hufwa singe dogari sin tie azan cham.

Lio ʃuʃun aʃɪɔ mali nu aʃɪ baŋ bature; zizi for laːk atɔse; a se ʃɪɔ "ataŋ bia; dɔɔŋ gwut ndi". sun gwut se njem mɔŋgo, "njɪm nyan-nyan bia?" be si ʃɪm "kiang hwa ba?" ama sin ʃɪɔ (or sin çɪɔ) "njɪm ataŋwa"; hufwa si nge dogari sin tie azaɪ tʃam.

THE KAGORO

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The Kagoro are a tribe of some 9,600 people, located in the Plateau Province to the south-west of the Katab and six or seven miles north of Jemaa. There is a tribe known as the Kagoro in French West Africa, and one as the Kaguru in British East

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Kagoro

101 Africa. They are an independent tribe, under the government
648 of a central chief, their independence having been conceded on the ground that the tribe was never wholly subservient to the Fulani Emirs of Jemaa. There is evidence, however, that these Emirs had at times sufficient influence to meddle in the internal affairs of the tribe, even to the extent of nominating the tribal chief. It is indeed probable that the existence of a central authority is due to this foreign influence. It would further appear that prior to the destruction by the Fulani of the power of Kajuru (Zaria Province) the Kagoro were to some extent subservient to Kajuru.

101 They state that they migrated to their present habitat from
174 the direction of Nimbia in the vicinity of Jemaa, but it is clear that linguistically and culturally they belong to the same tribal group as the Katab and Morva, with whom they freely intermarry. They dress in the same distinctive manner as the Katab, and live usually in the same peculiar type of house. It is noteworthy, however, that in some of the Kagoro villages the houses are of the round pattern, and this is said to be the more ancient. It would appear probable, therefore, that a fusion has taken place between the Kagoro, Katab, and Morwa within comparatively recent times, a fusion which has also embraced, though to a lesser extent, the neighbouring tribes of the Kaje, Jaba, Kagoma, and some sections of the Ikulu.

582 The social system throughout all these tribes follows a uniform pattern in two important respects, viz. that the tribe is organized for purposes of (*a*) marriage with girls not previously married, and (*b*) marriage by elopement with married women, the general rule being that the component units of the local group do not elope with each others' wives, but certain units of one local group either marry the daughters or steal the wives of members of certain sections of another local group, but may not (with rare exceptions) do both. That is to say, e.g. that the members of unit *a* of village-area *X* may marry the daughters of members of units *a*, *b*, *c* of village *Y*, but may not elope with their wives; they may elope with the wives of members of units *d*, *e*, *f* of village *Y*, but may not marry their daughters. Occasionally one unit of one town may both marry the daughters and steal the wives of a unit in some other town, but this appears to be quite exceptional and contrary to propriety. In certain cases

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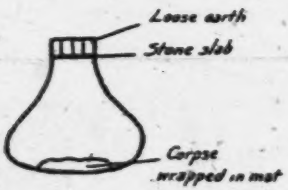
KAGORO

with ululations and the blowing of horns. He handed the head to a relative who put a string through the lips and danced about with it. He himself went straight to the priestly family which had charge of the head-hunting rites. From them he received a protecting draught consisting of some palm and mahogany oil intermixed with a few drops of the blood from the head. He was subjected to numerous taboos. He was not allowed to speak or touch the ground, being carried round on the shoulders of friends in the same way as a successful athlete in England. After the dance the warrior was taken to his house. The head was buried in mud by the priestly family and when it was clean of all flesh was deposited in the skull hut, which was to be found in every Kagoro village. When this was done a feast was held, but at this feast no women or young people were allowed to be present. All congratulated and thanked the warrior, holding up to him the index finger of the right hand, a mode of salutation to which he became entitled for the rest of his life. The Kagoro refrained from taking the heads of their Morwa and Katab neighbours, confining their energies to the Ataka and Kaje tribes. In times of war the Kagoro abstained from drinking beer. Their villages were protected by hedges of cactus which provided good cover for discharging their arrows. The hills and caves in the rear offered a safe retreat if they were driven out of their villages.

The Kagoro grave is of the decanter type, a type which may have had its origin in pot burial.



As stated in the Katab report, the Kagoro tribal marks are similar to those of the Katab, Morwa, Ataka, Kaje, Jaba, and Kagoma. The Kagoro call the Katab "Atiap", the Morwa "Asulio", the Kaje "Ajio", the Fulani "Fata", and the Hausa "Akpat". They call themselves the Agwǫlǫk.

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Kaje

The Kaje

The Kaje, who call themselves the Baju, are situated to the south-west of the Katab, and are split in two by the Zaria Plateau provincial boundary, half the tribe being under the Emir of Zaria and the other half under the Emir of Jemaa. The tribe was originally wholly administered by Zaria, being directly responsible to the Galadima of that city, and the present unfortunate bisection dates back to that period of last century when the establishment of the Fulani at Jemaa led to a reshuffling of the districts.

The Kaje consist of six localized groups, as follows:

(1) The Baiduang, inhabiting the villages of Zonkwa, Zuturu, Kurmin Bi, and Madauchi (Zaria Province).
(2) The Baintso, inhabiting the villages of Fadan Kaje, Tsofon Gidda, Fadia, Rimfa, Kafó, Zagwom (Zaria Province).
(3) The Baimbin, inhabiting the villages of Aduang, Suriang, Wadong, Kan-Kadong (Plateau Province).
(4) The Bainturung, inhabiting the villages of Duwhan, Vontong, Abet, Kanyem, Abong (Plateau Province).
(5) The Batadon, inhabiting the villages of Madakia, Azufwo, Kukwan, Furjam, Giddan Atang, Vumpang, Pong, Sosun, Kumantso, Dichodon, Zat, Zankiruwa (Plateau Province).
(6) The Banewhan, inhabiting the villages of Katsuk, Zubong, Marsa, Afana, Zamberkpat, Bakin Kogi, Rakawan, Chenchuk, Kurdan, Ataiechap, Kamerun, Rikeakwon, Zauru (Plateau Province).

These six divisions may be described as village confederacies, for they are not "clans" in the accepted sense of being exogamous units. Certain informants of the Baiduang group stated that in former times no Baiduang man could marry a Baiduang woman, and a villager of Fadia informed me that he had been told by his father that formerly it was not permissible for any Faida man to marry any woman of the Baintso group. If this information is correct it would appear that the Kaje formerly had an exogamous clan organization which has only broken down in recent times. It has given place to a modified form of exogamy, based on the kinship, real or fictitious, of the local group inhabiting a single village-area. I was unable to obtain any clear evidence that village confederacies had also been totemic. It was stated that the Baiduang respected the leopard, but there was no evidence that the leopard was a totem, though one informant

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Kaje
Morwa

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	He has killed many elephants	a bwaid zom ba bwadam	a bwaid zom ba bwadam
	How many elephants were killed yesterday?	zom zuji baku bwai rio?	zɔm zudʒi baku bwai rio?
149.	Untie it	ku biyuk	ku bijuk
	Tie this rope	rop rigiane	rɔp rigiane
	Make the boy untie the goat	si kabawon ka sibiyuk bwon	si kabawɔn ka sibijuk bwon
150.	My brothers and I, we are going, but no one else	inzuk bi kianvwarin-zuk zinat, inji badiim	ɪnzuk bi kianvwarin-zuk zɪnat, indʒi badɪɪm
	Brothers let us go and tell the chief	liok nat sitar agwam	liɔk nat sɪtar agwam
151.	This tree is bigger than that	kakwon kane nat kaya	kakwɔn kane nat kaja

Last night I was in my house with a white man; we heard a movement outside; he said, "you hear that; they are thieves; let us go and see." We went and I said, "Who are you?" and they answered, "nothing"; but I said, "you are thieves"; so we called the Police and put them in prison.

Lio tatuk in she kaliinzuk tare baturee; zu hwo ayin nara tasa; nu efuya "yihwok ba yemi; batang a mi; liok zu wuro iriyi." Zu wuruk inzuk uhungya "yin banzan"? Se bashim "kiã i shiva." Ama in zuk inhunga nyin batang a mi." Disi yei dogari disi bapion bachi kari da sarka.

lio tatuk ɪn ʃe kaliinzuk tare baturee; zu hwo ajɪn nara tasa; nû ɛfuja "jihwɔk ba jɛmi"; bataŋ a mi; liɔk zu wuro ɪrɪji." zu wuruk ɪnzuk uhuŋja. "jɪn banzan se baʃim kiã i ʃiva." ama ɪn zuk ɪnhuŋa njin bataŋ a mi." dɪsi jei dogari dɪsi bapicn batʃi kari da sarka.

The Morwa

The Morwa or Moroa are a tribe of some 5,900 people situated in the Plateau Province, to the South of their neighbours the Katab. A small section of 362 are located in the Chawai district of Zaria Province. They call themselves the Asolio and are known to most of their neighbours as such. How they came to be called the Morwa is not known. Morwa is a common word among the Bantu-speaking peoples of South Africa, and means "son", the plural being *Barwa* (see Brown's *Among the Bantu Nomads*, p. 24). Among the Bechuana the term Barwa is used to describe a kindred as opposed to an alien people.

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Morwa

101 Where the plural prefix *Ma* is used, it is applied to people of alien origin and inferior birth. The Morwa do not themselves use these typically Bantu prefixes, but many Nigerian tribes in speaking of themselves use the Bantu plural prefix *Ba*. The Kaje, for example, who are neighbours of the Morwa, call themselves [197] the Ba-ju, the Ikulu the Bakulu, and so on. The Morwa speak the same language as the Katab.

648 The Morwa are an independent tribe, though they were apparently subject in ancient days to the Habe kings of Zaria and certainly during the last century to the Beri-Beri and Fulani [174] dynasties of Zaria. The tribe seems at one time to have been located slightly further to the north (at Yelwa) and to have been [134] driven south by Zaria slave-raiders. The plain they now occupy is very fertile, and is flanked by the Kagoro hills which offered a safe retreat in time of war.

173 The ruling family resides at Manchok, and the present chief 612 states that his family came originally from Kabanchan, a Kagoro town in the Madaiki's district of Jemaa. The earliest settlers were the kindred known as the Ye-Lutsi who migrated to Manchok from Tankurang (Yelwa) across the Zaria-Plateau provincial boundary sometime last century. In this kindred is vested the priestly functions, and we have thus at Manchok the bisection so commonly found, into (*a*) the earliest settlers and custodians of the religious rites, (*b*) the ruling family, a later arrival.

361 The district consists of a number of village-areas of which 103 the principal are Manchok (with Kisagwai), Beniki, Bandong, 582 Chori, Agbwat (Babban Gidda), Matok, Gora, Bungen, Zankan, Mahuta, and Chonbano. All these are inhabited almost entirely by Asolio. Included in the district also are a number of villages inhabited by members of the neighbouring Ataka tribe. There is also a village called Nandiyam which consists of both Asolio and of Katab. There is free intermarriage between the Asolio and the sections which belong to other tribes, the marriages taking the form either of marriages with girls or of elopement with married women. In the latter case there is the usual rule that wife-stealing is not permissible among those living in close proximity, whether they belong to the same tribe or not.

612 The social organization is, as among the Kagoro and Katab, 614 of a dual character, i.e. there is the kinship grouping and there 582

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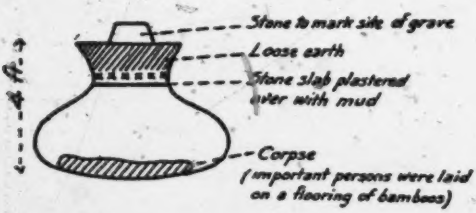
MORWA

The Morwa grave is of the decanter type, as follows:— 764



The Morwa call the Kaje the Azho, the Kagoro the Aguro, 101 and the Hausa the Akpat.

MORWA.

1.	Head	apio	apio
2.	Hair	pio	pio
3.	Eye	eli	eli
	Two eyes	lili fian	lili fian
4.	Ear	fufwo	fufwo
	Two ears	fufwo feang	fufwo feaŋ
5.	Nose	zuai	zuai
6.	One tooth	anyung anyung	anjuŋ anjuŋ
	Five teeth	inyung afuon	injuŋ afuon
7.	Tongue	alyam	aʎam
8.	Neck	fuwo	fuwo
9.	Breast (woman's)	abiin	abiin
10.	Heart	alio	alio
11.	Belly	su	su (u with lip rounding)
12.	Back	zame	zame
13.	Arm	bwak	bwa:k
14.	Hand	ataim bwak	ataim bwa:k
	Two hands	bwar infeang	bwar ɪnfeaŋ
15.	Finger	gashuong	gaʃuɔŋ
16.	Finger nail	gafwo	gafwo
17.	Leg	tak	ta:k
18.	Knee	okhwut	oxwut
19.	Foot	taitok	taita:k
	Two feet	titarafeang	tɪtarafeaŋ
20.	Man (person)	atubishi	atubɪʃi
	Ten people	atyora feang	atjora feaŋ
21.	Man (not woman)	ayin	ajɪn
	Two men	anyi sak	anji sa:k
22.	Woman	abiyuk	abijuk
	Two women	anyur afeang	anjur afeaŋ
23.	Child	ungwon	uŋgwɔn
24.	Father	atio	atio

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MORWA
JABA

63.	Mat	akpang	akpaŋ
64.	Basket	atsiran	atsɪran
65.	Drum	bin	bin
66.	Pot	olon	ɔlɔn
67.	Knife	abai	abai
68.	Spear	zoang	zoaŋ
69.	Bow	ate	ate
70.	Arrow	khiet	xiɛt
	Five arrows	khien foon	xiɛn foon
71.	Gun	bindiga	bɪndɪga
72.	War	zang	zaŋ
73.	Meat (animal)	nam	nam
74.	Elephant	zoom	zoom
75.	Buffalo	zat	zat
76.	Leopard	tyo	tjɔ
77.	Monkey	okho	ɔxɔ
79.	Goat	zoom	zoom
80.	Dog	obu	ɔbu
81.	Bird	aman	aman
	Feather	chadaman	tʃadaman
83.	Fowl	yuan	yuan
84.	Eggs	chi	tʃi
85.	One egg	achi anyung	atʃi anjuŋ
86.	Snake	zak	za:k
87.	Frog	kusambwat	kusambwat
88.	Spider	taneang	taneaŋ
89.	Fly	chinchung	tʃɪntʃuŋ
90.	Bee	shuai	ʃuəi
	Honey	tong	tɔŋ
91.	Tree	inkwon	ɪnkwɔn
	Ten trees	inkwon suak	ɪnkwɔn suak
92.	Leaf	akikyuo	akikjuo
93.	Banana	ayaba	ayaba
94.	Maize	tsakpat	tsakpat
95.	Ground nut	shuwi	ʃuwi
96.	Oil	khiau	xiau

THE JABA

114

(N.B.—The following notes were not obtained locally, and were not tested by genealogies. They were obtained mainly from a single informant, and may therefore be inaccurate.)

The Jaba are a tribe of some 13,000 people situated to the west of the Kagoro. Their territory is cut in two by the 101 [161]

1: Meek E, G-5 (1925-1930) 1931
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Jaba

their territory is cut in two by the
101 Zaria-Plateau boundary, a circumstance which is likely to hinder
[133] or prevent the evolution of a single tribal authority. They call themselves the Ham (Ham), and under this title Koelle published
197 a vocabulary of their language some eighty years ago. A schedule of words and phrases is attached from which it will be seen that Jaba belongs to the classifying group of the Sudanic family.
[193] The prefix system is less regular than in Kurama, some of whose prefixes are of the Bantu type. The phonology is closely akin to that of the Aregwe of the Bauchi Plateau, and one of the
[194] most striking features is the prevalence of palatalization of consonants.

They had, and still employ, the duodecimal system of
802 numeration, though it has now become confused with a decimal system, so that the word for "ten" is described as *sok Kpara* or "The Hausa *sok*" and the word for "twelve" is called *sok Ham* or "the Jaba *sok*".

The social organization of the tribe appears to be of the
621 local exogamy pattern. Thus in the town of Kwoi each ward
582 constitutes an exogamous group, marriage between members of the same ward being prohibited.

The Kwoi wards are:—

(1) Sarkin Turu.
(2) Makama.
(3) Magaji.
(4) Sarki.
(5) Yari.
(6) Galadima.
(7) Madaki.

It was stated that not so long ago the first five wards constituted a single exogamous group. They regarded themselves as being of one stock, and intermarried only with the members of the Galadima or Madaki wards. This grouping broke down, it is said, because the women of the Galadima and Madaki wards proved insufficient to go round the men of the other five wards, especially as parents of the outlying villages of Nok, Sambam, etc., were less inclined to give their daughters to men of Kwoi town, on the ground that the women of Kwoi town had taken to wearing garments of cloth, whereas they (of Nok, etc.) still maintained their semi-nude condition. If these statements are correct they are of great interest as being an actual instance of the manner in which social groups break

THE KATAB GROUP OF TRIBES

General

101 In south-eastern Zaria Province and adjacent areas of Benue and Plateau Provinces are located a number of more or less distinct tribes for whom Meek suggests the generic term, the Katab Group. He includes the following: Ataka (Attaka, Attakkar), Ikulu (Ikolu: not to be confused with Kolu or Kulung [Kulu] of Adamawa Province), Jaba (Ham), Kachichere (Kachacharri, etc.), Kagoma, Kagoro, Kaje (Kajji, etc.), Kamantan, and Moroa (Morwa). To these may be added the Kafanchan (Kabbanchan), which Meek regards as originally a " section " of the Kagoro; also the Daroro (said to be a branch of the Kachichere), and the Kaninkon (Kaninko, Kaninkwom, etc.), about whom there is very little information.[1] The order in which these peoples will be described depends on linkages between and among the tribes, largely as reflected in their traditions of origin and nomenclature; the Katab proper will be treated first chiefly because their name has been given to the larger group of tribes. All these peoples—with the exceptions noted below—are culturally linked by what Meek terms " the Katab culture complex," comprising the several features outlined below.

The Katab Culture-complex

(i) *Language*

197 In Meek's judgment, Ataka, Kachichere, Kagoro, Katab, and Moroa speak the same language, " provisionally included, on grounds of vocabulary, in the Nigerian Semi-Bantu group of the Middle Sudanic Zone. . . . It approximates in many respects to the Semi-Bantu type, but as the prefix system is very much less developed than in the typical Semi-Bantu languages such as Kurama or Ikulu, the Katab and allied languages should . . . form a separate group of the Middle Zone. If the tribe came . . . from the north, it is unlikely that they spoke a language identical with that of their present neighbours, the Morwa, Ataka, Kachichere, and Kagoro. Uniformity of language is attained and maintained only by continuous social contact."[1a]

173 By tradition, Kachichere seem to have preceded the bulk of the Katab in the area—though it is not known whence. Ataka, Kagoro, and Moroa claim to have descended to their present territory from the High Plateau (approximately the Birom tribal area [District], see below).

197 Outside this immediate area, close linguistic relationships have been reported only with Aten, Irigwe, Birom, and Afusare, of the High Plateau, apart from the Kadara: Meek says that the language spoken by Irigwe is phonologically remarkably similar to that of Jaba, and Ames states that the present-day Irigwe " tribe " (of the Birom confederation: see *Peoples of the Plateau Area of Northern Nigeria*) is derived in part from Kaje; and, according to Davies, the language of Aten is little more than a dialect of Katab, and Birom has many " word-roots " in common with

[1] Temple's identification of Kaura with the Katab group appears now to have been wholly erroneous: see data under *Dress*, pp. 66–7 below.

[1a] The links made explicit here by Meek are confirmed by all investigators; but elsewhere Meek has classified also as " possibly Nigerian Semi-Bantu " such languages as Arago and Agatu: Van Bulck has applied the name " Sub-Bantu " to languages of the Katab Group, and placed Arago and Agatu with such dialects of the language of Idoma as those of Boju and Igumale under the heading " Nigerian class languages," his terms apparently paralleling Guthrie's " Sub-Bantu " and " Bantoid "; on the other hand, the *Handbook of African Languages* applies the name " Nigerian class languages " to those of the Katab Group, and calls the Idoma dialects " Non-class languages "! Greenberg lumps Katab, and related languages of Northern Nigeria, with the Bantu languages of Central, East, and South Africa boldly to make up the " Central branch " of his " Niger-Congo family "—and, after Armstrong, the Idoma languages with the Kwa group, which he adjudges another branch of the same family.

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[pp. 1-64 not processed]

2: Gunn E-4 (no date) 1956 FF38 Katab FF38

bush pig, monkey, iguana, rats, etc., but do not (like the Kagoro) eat dog's flesh. Horse and camel flesh are taboo.[13]

Katab of Zangon Katab District

Location: Population

Zangon Katab District is the south-easternmost District of Zaria Emirate. South of it, still in Zaria Province, are the Independent Districts of Moroa, Kagoro, and Jaba (east to west), and, for a short space between the last two named, a narrow projection from the main body of Jema'a District (Jema'a Emirate and Division), Plateau Province. The Katab proper share the District primarily with Ikulu, Kaje and Kamantan, tribes of the Katab Group, north and west of the Katab, and the Kachichere, south-east; and also with Atsam (Chawai), "Ribawa" (the people of Riban village), both affiliated with the peoples of the High Plateau, and a minor salient of Kurama, in the Chawai tribal area to the east. Zangon Katab Town, seat of the District head (an official of the Emirate entitled Katuka) is primarily Hausa, an island in the heart of the Katab tribal area. Throughout the District there are small enclaves of Hausa craftsmen, particularly smiths, which probably antedate the Fulani conquest, and scattered bands of semi-nomadic Fulani, who appear to have made the District their headquarters for so long that they have adopted the name Kachichere, after their centre, the "Kachichere Plateau." Apart from Zangon Katab Town (population, 1,952, *c.* 1948), there are probably no very great concentrations of population anywhere in the District; it is one of the more densely populated, but the peoples depend largely on agriculture and shifting cultivation prevails, so that it can be assumed that the population is fairly evenly distributed.[14]

The total population of the District was 65,238 in the N.A. Census, 1948–9, and the area approximately 580 square miles,[15] giving a density of 112 per square mile. The population of the Katab tribe was 16,965.[16]

[13] Camels are, of course, a great rarity, occasionally reaching Zangon Katab market in trains from Kano and farther north at the height of the dry season; as has been noted, even horses are not plentiful in the area.

[14] At first sight, Zaria records seem to contradict this statement, showing the population of Gidan Jattau (Jatto) and Zonzon, both Katab, as 3,368 and 2,184 respectively, and, for example, Fadan Kamantan, 3,343, Kamurun Ikulu, 2,958, etc. These figures, however, refer to Village-areas; the size of these is unknown and there is no available evidence that any one of them constitutes a greater concentration of population than any other.

[15] The Census of 1931 gives the area of Zangon Katab District as 316 square miles, and that of Chawai District—later attached to Zangon Katab—as 204 square miles. Something like 60 square miles of Kaje tribal territory was annexed from Jema'a Division, Plateau Province, in 1934. The accuracy of the total given here is doubted by Reynolds, who has estimated the Kaje, Kamantan, and Ikulu tribal areas of the District—slightly less than half the total area of the District, to judge from the map, with less than half the total population—to total "about 450 square miles," with a density of around 68 per square mile.

[16] In addition, 1,820 Katab are returned from Kagoro District, 1,062 from Moroa, and five from Kachia, totalling 19,812 for the Province. (The possibility that those of Kagoro and Moroa may be communities of long standing, referred to by Temple, and perhaps partly or, by now, wholly assimilated by their hosts, is further considered below: see under *Dress*, cf. also Kaninkon; Kagoro.) "Hausa" of Zangon Katab District numbered 5,621, the remainder of the District total being non-Hausa indigenes. No figure is given for nomad Fulani in 1948, whose residence appears to be largely seasonal: in the Chawai area of the District alone the number has been reported to range from a peak of 5,400 (1928) to as low as 2,400 (1932). A. D. Percival estimated in 1932 that as many as 10,000 Fulani passed through the District annually. In general, the Fulani of the District circulate between the Kachichere Plateau and Jema'a, Keffi and Abuja Emirates, southward, and northward possibly as far as the Kano border and the Ningi Bush: there is no record of the effects on the local Fulani population of the virtual closing of the High Plateau to nomad herdsmen in the mid-'30s, which resulted in a mass-movement of Fulani from that area to the Mambila Plateau of the Northern Cameroons and beyond.

2: Gunn E-4 (no date) 1956 FF38 Katab FF38
KANINKON

site, and who addresses himself direct to the high god.[33] If the prayers for rain are successful, he retires to the grave of his most remote ancestor to offer thanks. Though there are over twenty lineages and rain-makers among the Katab, the most important is that of Shokwa, the *teowap* or *magajin dodo*.[34] Among Shokwa, whose origin out of the waters of Kaduna will be recalled, special rites are performed, which would, presumably, benefit the whole tribe, all having some connection with the Kaduna River.

The *teowap*, too, presided over the important head-hunting cult: preliminary rites were performed over the warrior and his trophy by his local *elenowum*; but on the second day, the head-winner, with the *elonowum*, retired to Shokwa, and the *teowap* there performed further rites. After *elenowum* and warrior returned from Shokwa, the latter's maternal uncle might take the head for cleaning, but it was finally deposited in the local skull-hut, in the care of the *elenowum*. A first feast was held on the warrior's return from Shokwa, when the warrior partook of a small piece of flesh from the head, which, it would seem, qualified him technically for the salutation, "*mwaliak*"; a final feast was held when the head had been prepared for display.[35] It is probably significant that the *elenowum* also functioned as the keeper of game-heads (less now than formerly, owing to the disappearance of large game in any quantity from the Katab area); it was he apparently who actually cooked and distributed the game killed.[36]

As regards totemism, Meek states that some of the Katab clans have animal or plant taboos, but that these do not appear to be closely associated with the system of clan exogamy or to play much part in binding the members of a clan together. There is no doubt considerable variation from one lineage, clan or sub-clan to another. The Agbat clan, for instance, respects the crocodile, the Shokwa clan the *tatona* lizard; children often respect the clan-emblem of their mother as well as that of their father. In addition, Agbat appears to be the only clan to perform special rites when a leopard is killed.

KANINKON (TUM) OF JEMA'A DISTRICT, JEMA'A EMIRATE-DIVISION, PLATEAU PROVINCE

GENERAL: NOMENCLATURE

A link between Kaninkon and Katab is impossible to establish with absolute certainty and there is no available evidence of a close connection between them at the present time, though relations with Kagoro (and the Kachichere of Jema'a) are traditionally cordial.

[33] Significant if Gwaza is regarded as a rain god.

[34] Kuzat lineage, presumably; Kamantan lineage is an adopted immigrant group. The structure of Shokwa to be deduced from this account of Meek's appears to diverge sharply from the Katab norm. In general Meek has noted that the various religious posts are filled by members of distinct "branches" of each lineage: the *teowap*, however, is apparently *agwam obwai* (as *Magajin dodo*), and rain-maker and, as rain-maker, it would seem, in light of Shokwa's miraculous origin, also in effect *elenowum*.

[35] Meek notes: "... The Zaria Hausa and Fulani never had sufficient control over the tribe to interfere with head-hunting. The chief enemies of the Katab were the Kaje", that is, presumably, among the members of the Katab group: members of the group did not wage war merely for the sake of heads, but on provocation, and the Kaje, being the largest and most aggressive of the neighbours of the Katab proper, very likely gave provocation freely; there is evidence, however, that Fulani and Hausa were preyed upon with considerable enthusiasm by all members. Ultimately, peace-making between Kaje and Katab proper resolved itself into the ritual exchange of heads taken in battle.

[36] Meek's account at this point raises a number of questions: elsewhere he states that a hunter takes the head of his quarry to his mother's brother; and, again, to the "head" of Aswen (which lineage is not specified: Amurun-Alan and Yagofo lineages are recognized as biologically derived from eponymous Aswen; but the adopted immigrant Awai, on the other hand, is credited with teaching the other two the art of animal-skinning); further, if the connection between game-hunting and head-hunting is truly significant, which Meek suggests, a connection between the former and the *teowap* of Shokwa needs to be demonstrated. To some extent, these apparently contradictory statements may reflect actual variation in local practice: if so, the fact needs to be stated explicitly.

2: Gunn E-4 (no date) 1956 FF38 Katab FF38
KANINKON

In 1909 the boundary between Zaria and the former Nasarawa Province ran from the vicinity of the Irigwe village of Kwon (Kwall), westward immediately to the north of Zangon Katab, thence in a south-westerly direction between Gora and Zangon Katab: thus, a large part of the Katab tribal area lay in Nasarawa Province. Subsequently boundary adjustments appear to have been made whereby Zaria acquired that part of Zangon Katab District which had till then been administered in Nasarawa Province (apparently including most if not all of Minyam clan territory and two-thirds of Agbat, the Hausa enclave of Zangon Katab, the Kachichere tribal area, virtually the whole of the Kaje tribal area, even Pari Village-area of the Chawai tribal area).

These details are important, because Temple ceased collecting materials for Northern Nigerian Tribes and Emirates only in 1916, and may well have failed to take into account this boundary change. Temple's description of Katab states that they have " one township over the border in Nassarawa Province," conceivably referring thus to the mass of Katab in Nasarawa described above. On the other hand, Brice-Smith (1922) noted that the Katab tribe " do not extend elsewhere except in one village, Tum, across the provincial boundary in the Jema'a Division of Nassarawa Province." There is in fact a hamlet of that name in Kagoro Independent District (a part of Jema'a Division until 1934): as has been indicated already, Kagoro is known to harbour a number of Katab immigrants. The search for Katab affiliates might well have stopped here, but for a cryptic note by A. B. Mathews which appears to suggest that Kaninkon refer to themselves as *Tum:* here is the admittedly tenuous link closing the circuit between Katab, Kagoro, Kachichere, and Kaninkon; the possibility of a closer connection between them than can yet be demonstrated is not to be overlooked.

Neither the meaning nor origin of these names can be stated, nor is it known by whom they are used at the present time.

Population: Location: Social Organization

The bulk of the Kaninkon occupy a fairly compact quadrangle, at least 30 square miles in area, near the south-westernmost extremity of the Kachichere Plateau, and at the base of that salient of Jema'a District which terminates in Kafanchan Town, on the Zaria border. They are thus separated from the main body of the Katab tribe by the Kafanchan tribe of Jema'a District, by Kaje, by Kagoro, and by the very considerable cosmopolitan centre, Kafanchan Town.

The most recent population figures available for the Kaninkon tribe are those compiled by Mathews (1934): Ambam (Anban), 251; Amere (Amare, Amre), 461; Bakin Kogi, 285; Gerti (Garte), 321; Ungwar Baki, 525; Ungwar Peri (Fari), 448; total, 2,291. A seventh village, Gwaska, identified by administration as Kaninkon, is located within this area; an eighth, Kwagiri, is located in the Yeskwa area of Kagoma-Yeskwa District. The Forestry Reconnaissance Map of Jema'a Division of 1948 shows Amere to be a dispersed settlement, with wards (Ungwar Sarkin Amere, Amere, and Old Amere) scattered the entire length and breadth of Kaninkon territory in Jema'a District.

The precise extent of Kaninkon territory is not known, so that the density of population cannot be established, but Mathews gave the density of Jema'a District (including the population of Kafanchan Town) as approximately 26 per square mile in 1934.

The only available account of Kaninkon is that compiled by Mathews. Virtually the whole of the Kachichere Plateau appears to have been " subject " to the Sarkin Kajuru (see Kachichere, below), at least until the rise of the Fulani. Mathews writes: " originally they had one chief for the whole tribe, and separate priests for each village. But during Fulani times the two sections, the Black Kaninkon and the White Kaninkon, fell out with one another because the latter, who are regarded as being of lower status than the Black . . . . refused any longer to be regarded as a reservoir for providing more than their fair share of the annual tribute of slaves to

2: Gunn E-4 (no date) 1956 FF38 Katab FF38
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Jema'a. So they seceded, made their own chief, and their own arrangements about tribute to Jema'a."

From this point, Mathews' account becomes somewhat difficult to interpret: " A senior branch of the Kaninkon . . . comprises the towns of Amere, Bakin Kogi, and Gerti. [This is presumably the " Black " section of the tribe, though Mathews fails to label it as such.] They say that they were conquered by the Fulani and thereafter paid them tribute, but that each town had its own *jekada* and brought its own tribute to Jema'a. At first, when the Fulani had not come to Jema'a, they had one chief for them all [that is, a paramount chief of Kaninkon, presumably] and another one for the " Black " [spokesmen from which are informing here?] and " White " Kaninkon [that is, one " chief " for each section: see also below] . . . and [still another for] Ambam. But after the split there were separate chiefs, and they would not be prepared to unite now. . ."

It would appear that the sectional chiefs of the second paragraph quoted are perhaps the " separate priests for each village " of the first paragraph, and that the people of Amare, Bakin Kogi, and Garte constituted one local unit or village (" Black "), while Ungwar Peri and Ungwar Baki constituted another (" White "); the unique position of Ambam remains, however, to be explained. The position of the " paramount chief " cannot be determined precisely on the basis of the material here presented: he might have been the intermediary between the body of village priests and Sarkin Kajuru; or a ritual specialist of some sort with a wider than usual following (cf. the *teowap* of Shokwa, etc., under Katab, above).

According to Mathews, Kaninkon intermarry with the people of Nindam village, immediately south of Kaninkon territory (see Kachichere, below). Smith reports that Kagoro tradition describes Kaninkon as friends and allies of Kagoro (like Kagoro's Katab, Kafanchan and Jaba neighbours): this, apparently, in spite of the fact that Kaninkon submitted to Kagoro's Hausa-Fulani enemies, and may well have joined in raids on neighbouring tribes such as the Kagoro who resisted the power of Jema'a.

No other information is available regarding the Kaninkon and their culture.

Kachichere (Aticherak) of Zangon Katab District; " Daroro " of Jema'a District, Jema'a Emirate-Division, Plateau Province

Location: Population: Nomenclature: Affiliations: Traditions of Origin

South-east of the seven Village-areas of Zangon Katab District, Zaria Emirate, which constitute the (unofficial) Katab tribal area, against the northern border of Moroa Independent District, lie the Village-areas of Kachichere Arna and Pari—on the westernmost spur of the High Plateau, a peak of which rises to some 4,000 ft. above the village of Kachichere. Kachichere Arna (population 276, *c.* 1948) is inhabited largely by Aticherak—the Hausa corruption of which name is the more familiar " Kachichere." Pari is a Chawai (Atsam) community, but contains the important Aticherak hamlet of Lungu (population 520, in 1950). The total figure given in the N.A. Census of 1948–9 for Aticherak in Zangon Katab District (and Zaria Province) is 699; the slightly greater total of the two villages may be due to a small number of Hausa smiths in Kachichere Arna Village-area.[37]

[37] The designation Kachichere Arna, Hausa " Pagan Kachichere," implies the existence of another hamlet or village, Kachichere Hausawa: the Hausa smiths of Kachichere are famous, having settled there under the protection of the Sarkin Kajuru perhaps 200 years ago. These smiths seem to have been the source of swords among the Kagoro (and no doubt other tribes in the vicinity) which Meek and others have regarded as symbols of chieftaincy and of subordination to Kajuru: Smith, however, was told by Kagoro informants that the swords were given by itinerant Kajuru Hausa smiths out of Rahama, Kachichere, and other Hausa settlements, to those in Kagoro who were able to guarantee the safety of the smiths in their " unsettled " community, which suggests a system of commercially organized exploitation rare in Nigeria. Very little information is available regarding Kauru and the swords

2: Gunn E-4 (no date) 1956 FF38 Katab FF38
Kachichere.

According to Smith, there are two communities of Aticherak origin in Kagoro District—Dussai (population 230) and Mafok (435): these have been so assimilated by Kagoro that they cannot seriously be considered as Aticherak, even though they have maintained a certain degree of integrity.

The people termed by Temple and Tremearne "Daroro" are apparently those called Kachichere in very recent years by the Administration of Jema'a Division: these Kachichere are located in a triangular area, Jagindi Station-Ungwar Audi-Nindam, some 35 square miles in area, virtually at the heart of Jema'a District, to the south of Kaninkon and 15 miles from Kafanchan Town. Their identity with the Daroro tribe depends on the accuracy of Temple's statement that Nindam (a Kachichere village, according to the latest information) is "the only town in their occupation," that is, of the Daroro. It is of interest that the account of the founding of Jema'a Emirate given by Temple, who appears to have been unaware of any connection between Daroro and Kachichere, tends to support, by strong implication, Administration's innovation in nomenclature.[38] The Daroro were "conquered and drive out [of Kachichere territory] by the Fulani, c. 1805-10." to their present abode. It is also significant that the high plains "undulating and dotted with hills" between Kachichere Area and Jagindi have been known in former times by the name Kachichere Plateau.

The most recent population figures available are those of Mathews (1934):

Village[39]	*Population*
Akwa	114
Danguwa (Dangwa)	196
Nindam Kogo (Nindam)	206
Numbu	247
Zangan Kogo (Zankan)	259
Total	1,022

According to the traditions collected by Brice-Smith and others in Zaria, Aticherak claim to have been the "original" inhabitants of the present-day Katab tribal area, to have extended hospitality to Katab immigrants, and to have been crowded subsequently into the narrow pocket which they now inhabit by the armed incursions of Kagoro, Moroa (Asolio), and Aten. They may have some special affinity with Atsam (Chawai) their neighbours on the north; at Lungu, informants have stated that all Aticherak are related to Atsam of Pari (cf. Ungwar Peri or Fari (Pari) in Jema'a District). They were subjects, apparently willing ones and as such special favourites, of the Sarkin Kajuru, before the Jihad, as were Ikulu, Kamantan, even the Kachichere, Fulani and probably others among their neighbours.[40] It is not known to what extent Aticherak of Zangon Katab District maintain relations with their kinsmen of Nindam-Daroro.

traced ultimately to the influence of that petty kingdom, but it appears that Zangon Katab was founded by Kauru, and Zango's fame as a centre of craftsmen suggests a similar system. (It will be recalled that Kauru is reputed to have been founded by a man of Wadai; the chiefs of Kajuru are said to be Beriberi—Kanuri—in origin.) Cf. tradition relating to dispersion of Maguzawa smiths from the environs of Kano City in the 14th century, reported by Temple.

[38] "Jema'a was founded by Mallam Usuman.... He went to Zaria ... and received permission to enter Kachichere territory, where, with a following of cattle Fulani, he settled in the neighbourhood of Jema'ar Daroro—which probably received its name from the people Daroro inhabiting that mountain."

[39] Whatever its traditions of origin, Administration regards Akwa as assimilated by the "aboriginal" Numana peoples of Jema'a District, though the traditions of a miraculous local origin of the Numana on the Kachichere Plateau may indicate some kind of an early link with Aticherak. The present-day list of villages recognized by Administration indicates considerable dispersal since 1934; the list includes Ungwar Anga, Ungwar Audi, Ungwar Madaki, Ungwar Magaji, Ungwar Makeranta, and Ungwar Umaru, in addition to Danguwa, Nindam Kogo, and Zangan Kogo (Numbu has disappeared from the list).

[40] Some of whom, however, appear to have resisted the claims of Kajuru.

2: Gunn E-4 (no date) 1956 FF38 Katab FF38
Kachichere

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

582 Meek has analysed the organization of Kachichere Arna. Where secondary marriage is concerned, the Village-area as a whole functions with relation to the Katab tribe much as the smaller Katab clans, Aku and Shokwa, with their fellows; that is, it constitutes the local unit within which its members may not seek secondary wives. Secondary marriages are, however, contracted with " wives obtained from neighbouring tribes," but whether also from Aticherak of Lungu is not known. As regards primary marriage, Aticherak form what appears to be virtually an endogamous community; at Kachichere Arna there are four exogamous units,[41] Ne-Tabin, Ne-Chobiam, Ne-Tiet, and Iningwa-Tiap,[42] those at Lungu are given by Reynolds as Alegahk, Tsoniata, Shoviam (=Chobiam), and Uwatiyap (=Iningwa-Tiap).[43] Primary marriage laws " closely resemble those of the Katab," according to Meek. As among Katab, the widows of a father or grandfather—real or classificatory—are heritable. Meek notes, however, that " every Kachichere child. . . has to be redeemed from the mother's family by a graduated scale of payments. . ." The exogamous units are not totemic; all Aticherak of Kachichere Arna, however, " respect " the crocodile and leopard.

613 622 793 The civil head of Kachichere Arna Village-area (responsible, like the Katab Village-area heads, directly to the Katuka at Zangon Katab) is a member of Ne-Tabin, and " his ' madaiki ' or second-in-command " (duties not indicated) of Ne-Chobiam.[44] Each lineage has its own head (*magajin elenowum*), those of Ne-Tabin and Ne-Chobiam being apparently separate from Village-area head and Madaiki, but for the whole community there is a single *obwai* priest and a single rain-maker, *atun yevwo*.[45] At Lungu, the connections of the hamlet head are not entirely clear; he is, of course, subordinate to the Atsam head of Pari Village-area. The hamlet council, according to Reynolds, consists of the hamlet head and the heads of each group and sub-group of the village.

114 There is no information about the extensive Kachichere community in Jema'a District, of which the obscure Numana peoples, about whom little more than the names and populations of their villages is known, may or may not be part. The names of the scattered hamlets already listed may be to some extent indicative of the socio-political organization: Ungwar Magaji and Ungwar Madaki both probably refer to actual civil titles, but there is no indication to which of the older villages they may appertain, and the significance of the other names is unknown.

101 197 In conclusion, it may be noted that Aticherak of both Kachichere Arna and Lungu appear outwardly to be virtually indistinguishable from their Katab neighbours.[46] Also, according to Meek, the local dialect varies only slightly from standard Katab.

[41] These appear to be lineages since, according to Meek, " the members of each believe themselves to be blood relatives, and . . . they appear to be able to trace their ancestry genealogically back to a common forefather. . . ."

[42] The meaning of these (or even the significance of the hyphens) is not stated by Meek. -Tiap, it will be noted, resembles the name the Katab give themselves, *Atyap*.

[43] According to Drummond-Hay (whose information appears to be supported by Reynolds' notes) other Aticherak are located at a village or hamlet, Kingwarang (Dutsin Kimbarang, according to Reynolds) but nothing appears to be known of its present size or structure, so that its population may have been included by Reynolds in his count of the inhabitants of Lungu.

[44] The chief of Kachichere Arna possesses a sword believed by Meek to be of Kajuru origin. The only other information relating to the chieftaincy is Meek's statement that a chief, on his appointment (by whom?), goes " into seclusion for seven days beginning on a Sunday."

[45] Meaning not recorded, but cf. distinctive title of Numana priest-chiefs, *Itum*.

[46] Aticherak, at least those of Lungu, profess a closer tie with Atsam, claiming voluntarily to have entered Chawai territory; having earlier professed a vital link with Kajuru, they resisted a move by Administration in 1931–2 to place them under the Kajuru hamlet-head, in favour of remaining under the Village-area head of Pari. Yet men of Chawai refuse to take Aticherak wives, since, according to various informants, Aticherak women wear lip-plugs! Meek notes that men of Kachichere Arna take secondary wives from neighbouring tribes, but does not specify whether Atsam is among these.

2: Gunn E-4 (no date) 1956 FF38 Katab FF38
Ikulu

IKULU

GENERAL: NOMENCLATURE: POPULATION: LOCATION: SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Little information is available concerning the people generally termed Ikulu or Ikolu in the literature.[47] According to Brice-Smith, they call themselves *Ankulu*: the meaning of this name is not indicated.

The latest population figures available for Zaria Province as a whole (N.A. Census of 1948–9) indicate that the Ikulu tribe is found exclusively in Zangon Katab District, where they number 5,961: the bulk of these are found in the northern quarter of the District, north of the main centres of Kaje and Katab concentration, but their hamlets and farms are reported to be intermingled with farms of Kaje (and Katab) pioneers pushing forward out of the more thickly settled areas to the south, and those of Kamantan, to the west. Predominantly Ikulu Village-areas are (figures returned *c.* 1948): Anchuna, 1,596; Kamurun Ikulu, 2,956; Padan (=Fadan) Ikulu, 1,042; total, 5,594. Besides Ikulu in the north, however, there are a number of communities to the south and east of the District among Katab, Atsam, and others: many of these appear to have been absorbed by the local society, but in some cases (e.g., Kwiambana Ikulu, in Pari Village-area of Chawai) they appear to have preserved their identity; it is not known which if any of these emigrant Ikulu are included in the 1948–9 total for the District (and Province).[48]

Before the Ikulu of Kachia District were transferred to Zangon Katab, *c.* 1925, the three Ikulu Village-areas named above appear already to have emerged as distinct entities, with recognized heads; further, they appear to have simply absorbed the Ikulu hamlets which came to the District from Kachia. The possibility that Kamuru may occupy the position of *primus inter pares* is discussed below. It should be noted that the Ikulu Village-area heads do not administer the immigrant Kaje among them, according to Reynolds: these Kaje are still dependent on their parent villages in the south, through which they continue to pay their taxes.

Meek states (in MS. notes) that the Ikulu are sub-divided into four "wife-stealing" units[49] distributed among the villages—which are basically exogamous units (cf. Kaje, below)—as follows:

"Wife-stealing" units	*Villages*
Ekawranyi	Dissin
	Ungvya
	Unduru
	Ikum
Unchera	?
Ampak	Balto
	Ansong
	Lisum
Ayinti	Kunyekuni
	Kito

Of the villages named, only Balto can be tentatively identified as Bato, in the immediate vicinity of Fadan Ikulu. It may well be that the villages of each "wife-stealing" unit are interspersed among those of the remainder, but it is not

[47] In a report, "Ethnographical notes on Wurkun District, Adamawa Province," Meek refers to Ikulu as "the Ba-Kulu of Zaria Province": in *Tribal Studies* he notes that "the Kaje . . . call . . . the Ikulu the Bakulu," whence, apparently, he has adopted the name.

[48] Kwiambana Ikulu in 1950 had a total population of 161; adult males, 35. See also below.

[49] Presumably units outside of which secondary wives must be sought, though the term appears to be used in both inclusive and exclusive senses. Meek notes also that a man does not seek a secondary wife in a village from which he has taken a primary wife: it is not clear from this whether the "wife-stealing" unit is endogamous, perhaps, so far as primary marriage is concerned.

2: Gunn E-4 (no date) 1956 FF38 Katab FF38
Ikulu
Kamantan

According to Temple, "a large proportion of the Ikolu are blacksmiths," which would seem to differentiate them from Katab, who have by all accounts no smiths at alll, and apparently also from Kadara, among whom smiths are not numerous. It will be recalled, however, that the chiefs of Kajuru appear to have had some special connection with the smiths of Kachichere.

Kamantan

General: Nomenclature: Population: Location: Social Organization

Available information relating to Kamantan (Kamantam) parallels closely the brief description given of Ikulu.

According to Meek, their name for themselves is Angan (sing. Zamangan): the origin and meaning of the name are not indicated.

The Zaaria N.A. Census of 1948–9 returns 3,634 Kamantan for Zangon Katab District and the Province. The Resident of Zaria's list of Village-areas, undated, (*c.* 1948), shows the population of Padan (Fadan) Kamantan, the single predominantly Kamantan Village-area, to be 3,343."

The essential feature of Angan social organization, judging from Meek's notes, seems to bee that "people who are related give their daughters in marriage more readily than they would give them to strangers; but cousins may not marry." Presumably "cousins" here refers to collateral relatives whose genealogical relationship is recognized, and the rule implies that the group of kinsmen whose relation to Ego can be traced genealogically constitute Ego's exogamous units. This system certainly differs radically from the normal Katab (but cf. Srubu, p. 63 above, where marriage rules appear to be comparable). Meek partially analyses the Kamantan tribe as follows:

"Wife-stealing" units	*Villages*	*Comments*
(1)	Kagal Ashin (Kaku)	2 related exogamous sections 2 non-related exogamous sections
(2)	Kaban Kangun	
(3)	Agan [sic] (Fadan Kamantan) Balil Lena	Believed related
(4)	Yangan Shokwan	

Only the first village named for each "wife-stealing" unit can be located on maps of the area. It would not be surprising if the various parts of Angan society were disparate, but more information is needed before further comment can be made.

The Kamantan tribe, comprising a single Village-area, is the only tribe of the Katab Group so far described which has, in effect, a tribal chief. The office is nowhere discussed, though Meek notes that the chief has a ritual sword (the origin of which is not stated).

observer to have described the Katab *obwai*-hut as "tall"—(Meek notes that the hut is round in contrast to the usual style of building): in the Kadara area, on the other hand, many investigators have been struck by the unusual height of the "tsafi huts" and the extreme pitch of their conical thatched roofs. It has already been noted that the Katab *obwai* cult resembles in many respects the Kadara *dodo*-cult, and it seems possible that Ikulu, even if not a branch of Kadara, may have acted as a medium for the diffusion of the Kadara *dodo*-cult over the whole of the Katab area. Diffusion from the west seems, on the basis of the very scanty information available, more likely only because the *dodo*-cult is completely absent from a wide area of the High Plateau, whence Kagoro—who practise *obwai*—seem to have come, on the east. The chief of Ankuwa interviewed by Meek recognized the essential unity of the Kadara, Kaje, Srubu, and Ikulu *dodo*-cults.

** The difference is probably accounted for by inaccurate returns.

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According to Meek, the Kafanchan (occasionally written by him "Kabbanchan") tribe, located in the immediate vicinity of Kafanchan Town, are an "offshoot" of Kagoro. Smith notes that Kagoro seem to have regarded Kafanchan as friends and allies in times past.

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The most recent figures available specifically for Kagoro of Jema'a and for Kafanchan are those compiled by A. B. Mathews in 1934:

	Village	*Population*
Kagoro	Tafam [61]	887
	Tukun Kasa	250
	Tukun Tozo	388
	Ungwan Kagoro [62]	146
	Total	1,671
Kafanchan	Total [63]	971

622
623

At the time of Mathews' investigation, Kagoro of Jema'a were administered through three village headmen (Tafam, Tuku, and Ungwan Kagoro). In 1950 Administration was encouraging the formation of a tribal council as a means of uniting whatever factions may have existed among Kagoro in the District. Kafanchan appear sometimes to have been administered through the heads of their four villages, sometimes through a "tribal chief"—an institution alleged to date back to their submission to Kajuru. At present, they are said to have elected to join with the three Kaje villages of Jema'a District to form a local council.

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Traditions: Social Structure[64]

Kagoro are divided into two major groups or "moieties" on the basis of their traditions of origin. One of these bears the name of Ankwei:[65] this group is patrilineally descended from ancestors who left the High Plateau to the north-east of Kagoro District, resided for a time in the vicinity of Nimbia and eventually retired to the safe heights of the Kagoro massif (about 1700, according to Smith's estimate).[66] From the account given by Smith it seems not unlikely that, while at Nimbia, Ankwei may have been simply a localized clan or clan segment participating with other similar groups in a tribal organization the major centre of which lay on the High Plateau, for example, at Jal, or Shonong (Oshono), or Bachit, or Riyom; on Kagoro rock, however, where Ankwei would virtually have lost all contact with the Plateau homeland, Ankwei-Kagoro "split into three divisions, Zafan, Mingio and Atswam," according to the tradition ascribed by Smith to "the men of Zafan." These seem likely to have been localized exogamous groups (cf.

[61] Tafa, according to Tremearne; Tafan, in the Census of 1930 Village Directory.

[62] The first three villages named claim to antedate all Kagoro settlements in Kagoro District, Zaria; the inhabitants of what Mathews calls "Ungwan Kagoro" are recent immigrants from Kagoro District, said to have come seeking to escape persecution from a District head later deposed. No "Ungwan Kagoro" appears on present-day village lists at Kafanchan, and it is to be supposed that these immigrants reformed themselves, after Mathews' investigation, into a number of villages: in addition to the first three named above, Administration recognized Akan, Chenji, Dandu, Godogodo, Kato, and Kowai as Kagoro settlements in 1950. It is not known whether immigration from Kagoro District continues.

[63] Kafanchan Town is said originally to have been a Kafanchan settlement, but here they have been largely displaced by "stranger" elements. Kafanchan villages recognized as such by Administration are: Garaje, Ungwar Adam, Ung. Mamudu, and Ung. Sigari (Ringari on Forestry Reconnaissance Map of the Division dated May, 1948).

[64] A field study by M. G. Smith, who appears to have taken fully into account the earlier work done by Meek at Kagoro, is heavily drawn upon in this section.

[65] No connection with Ankwe (more properly Kemai or Goemai) of Shendam Division, Plateau Province, can be traced.

[66] Tradition recorded at Kagoro: it is not known whether Tuku and Tafam in Jema'a District are Ankwei, or constitute one or more other similar groups perhaps not represented among Kagoro of Kagoro District.

District, who claim to have been isolated from their close kin and neighbours in Moroa District by the boundary drawn by Administration some 30 years earlier.

According to Meek, the origin of the name Moroa, (Morwa, Maruwa) is unknown.[97] The people to whom this name is applied by Hausa and by Europeans call themselves Asolio (Osholio, Aholio).[98] According to Tremearne, Asolio claim to have migrated from Zaria (Meek specifies Yelwa, immediately to the north in Zangon Katab District; see Kachichere, p. 83, above) via Kafanchan to their present site.[99] Smith was told by Kagoro informants that Kagoro and Aten (of Ganawuri) were in contact in the area now designated Moroa District and in more or less continual conflict; when the ancestor of the Moroa tribe (Shaliyot) approached them to ask for land, he was given the area bordering on Ganawuri, the present Moroa District. It is of some interest that Asolio constitute the only sizeable "tribal" group in this entire area contained largely in a single District.

Ataka (Attakka; commonly rendered Atakar by Hausa scribes) occupy the eastern half of Kagoro Rock, from the environs of Kadarko, in Kagoro District, and also the lower-lying areas south and east in Moroa District and beyond to the foot of the Plateau escarpment, across the borders of Jema'a District and the Birom Tribal Area, as far as Nimbia (Gwandara or Karshe "tribe") and Assob (Birom). The origin and meaning of the name is nowhere stated, but it conforms so closely to Katab forms that it seems likely to be indigenous: according to Ames, Ataka were traditionally co-residents with Aten of an area at the centre of which the present-day village of Takwot is located, which suggests one possible origin and meaning.[100]

The exact number of Ataka residing outside Moroa District is uncertain. The Census of 1931 gives 2,873 as the total number of Ataka in all areas (in 1921 Ataka were classified with Kagoro and Moroa); in 1934 A. B. Mathews counted some 384 in Jema'a District alone; the N.A. Census of 1948–9 returned 669 in Kagoro District; no count is available for Ataka of the Birom Tribal Area. A round figure of 5,000 is suggested for Ataka in all areas at the present time.

Social Structure: Local Organs of Authority: Miscellaneous Cultural Details

The history of the administration of Moroa District has been uneventful, probably because Moroa early developed a *modus vivendi* with the powers of the region—Kajuru and/or Kauru, and the Hausa and Fulani kings of Zaria—so that a central authority grew up around the Chief of Manchok ("Agwam Asholio" in Provincial Records).

It was stated in 1934, at the time of the transfer of Moroa District from Plateau to Zaria Province, that "the District contains 24 villages" presumably including Asolio, Ataka, and one Katab (Kaura), "the heads of which are responsible direct to the Agwam Asholio"—this state representing a degree of fragmentation unequalled in this part of Zaria, at least, and perhaps going far to explain the relative stability of the District.

There is no record in Zaria of subsequent reorganization, grouping these villages into a limited number of "Village-areas." A total of only 19 villages for the District was found in the Village Directory of the Northern Provinces (Census of 1931), however. Only 14 of these can be identified as Asolio:

[97] As Meek traces Asolio to the Chawai (Atsam) tribal area of Zangon Katab District, it may be recalled that Reynolds found among Atsam evidence of a double unilineal system, the largest matrilineal unit bearing the name "Marowan".

[98] Cf. Shaliyot, given by Smith's Kagoro informants as Moroa "tribal ancestor."

[99] Cf. Traditions of Kurama, the people of Kauru District, and the Katab. Meek gives "Asalio" as the name of a lineage of the "aboriginal" Aku clan of Katab (see table, p. 72, above, *Religious Beliefs*, below).

[100] Cf. Takwot and Ataka (Atakar).

2: Gunn E-4 (no date) 1956 FF38 Katab FF38
Kaje

Zangon Katab District, but it seems probable that precisely those areas inhabited by Kaje (see map) are the most densely populated in both Districts, so that the actual difference, from the point of view of Kaje, may be negligible.

The Kaje tribal area is drained by the Kogum-Mada system, which flows southward to the Benue, and by the headwaters of the Gurara, which empties westwards into the Niger. The country is generally undulating and parklike, not thickly wooded apart from the numerous gullies (*kurmi*; cf. Kagoro and Jaba). East of the railway line between Kankada and Suryam on the Kagoro boundary, there is a considerable extent of marshy ground. Three ranges of hills cross the area, one running north and south, near Zonkwa, and two, extending approximately north-east and south-east, from Afana to Farman, and from Kaban to Kamurun Ikulu, respectively.

Reynolds suggests that Kaje may be the Hausa corruption of the indigenous name, Baju, meaning "people of one language." Kaje is said also to be a tribal ancestor's name.

Social Organization

Kaje villages and hamlets of Zangon Katab District are grouped into 11 Village-areas, among which are distributed six "tribal sections" or clans, according to Reynolds.[109]

"Tribal sections"	*Hamlet*	*Village Area*	*Population*
Baidusag	Zonkwa	*Zonkwa*	3,757
	Kurmin Bi		
	Madauci		
	Zonkwa (Hausa)		
	Zuturung Fama	*Zuturung*	*1,538 : 5,295*
	Kangurara		
	Zuturung Mugu		
Baisabia	Suryan	*Suryan*	1,993
	Aduan		
	Arebot		
	Kankada		
	Wadon		
Baisturung	Gidan Jatau	*Gidan Jatau*	2,813
	Abet		
	Asankwai		
	Farman		
	Ipam		
	Kanyem		
	Unguwar Jatau		
Baintsok	Fadan Kaje	*Fadan Kaje*	1,506
	Rumfa		
	Tsofon Gida		
	Fadiya Magu	*Fadiya*	*2,409 : 3,915*
	Fadiya Bosan		
	Fadiya Bukut		
	Fadiya Yasanu		
	Kahon Aruwan		
	Kahon Dok		
	Zagon Finfa		
	Zagon Gajere		

[109] Cf. Meek, *Tribal Studies*, II, pp. 101–2.

2: Gunn E-4 (no date) 1956 FF38 Katab FF38
Kaje
Jaba

According to Reynolds, it is believed that the dead have an underground abode, Yatbin, where they live much as they did on earth enjoying the same status they held in life. Reynolds does not comment on Temple's statement that Kaje believe in reincarnation, nor does he connect totemic beliefs with the belief in life after death.

Missions

Regarding mission activity in Kaje, Reynolds reports that the total membership of Christian congregations in the tribal area may number about 2,000, or rather less than a twelfth of the population: ministers of no less than six sects are present in the area. The influence of the missions is felt well beyond the small circle of converts, however, through the schools which they operate in the area.

Miscellaneous

Kaje economy and land-tenure appear to conform most closely to their Jaba neighbours (described farther below). Kaje are described as particularly commercial-minded, and aggressive in their business dealings, which appears rather to distinguish them from other members of the Katab Group of tribes.

In material culture, including house-building and dress, Kaje are virtually indistinguishable from their neighbours of the Katab Group all around. As regards music, however, both instrumental and vocal, and the dance, they early made an impression on European observers, and appear still to distinguish themselves in these arts.

Jaba (Ham) of Kwoi and Kachia

Location: Population: Nomenclature: Traditions of Origin

South-west of the Kaje tribal area of Zangon Katab District, Zaria Emirate, lies the Jaba Independent District of Zaria Province, where the boundaries of Zaria, Plateau (Kagoma-Yeskwa District of Jema'a Emirate-Division), and Benue (Yeskwa District of Keffi Emirate, Nasarawa Division) Provinces meet. West of Jaba District lies Kagarko District, along the Benue and Niger Provinces border of Zaria; north of Jaba and Kagarko, and west of Zangon Katab is Kachia (Kachiya) District, like Kagarko and Zangon Katab, a District of Zaria Emirate. The whole area is one of considerable "tribal" intermixture. The bulk of the Jaba (Hausa? name: Ham or Hum, in the vernacular) are located in Jaba District, with headquarters at Kwoi (whence the name popularly but unofficially applied to the District).

Population (N.A. Census 1948–9) 16,364; area (Census of 1933) 207 square miles; density 79 per square mile. "Tribal" figures for the District are as follows: Jaba, 14,245; Lungu (Adong), 1,513; Kagoma, 484; Hausa, 122. Some early writers equate Lungu with Yeskwa of Benue and Plateau Provinces, but one investigator calls them "practically a clan of the Koro" of Kagarko, though stressing the many ties linking the two peoples. Kagoma are Katab affiliates and are treated farther below.

A second major concentration of Jaba is found in that portion of Kachia District immediately adjacent to Jaba District, south-east of Kachia Town: population (of entire District) 25,494; area 1,394 square miles; density 19 per square mile. Tribal figures: Jaba, 10,683; Kadara, 7,411; Kuturmi, 2,944; Hausa, 2,985; Kaje, 1,204; others, 271. Traditionally, dating back to Kajuru times, Kachia is a Kadara District, Kuturmi being affiliated with Kadara.

Other Jaba are found in Kagarko District (410 of a total of 26,104), traditionally a Koro-Gbari area, but with an "old" Hausa population, and a sizeable concentration of Fulani; here Jaba appear to be assimilating to Koro pagans. Jaba are also found in Yeskwa District of Keffi Emirate, Benue Province (560 of 12,399); in Keffi District (62 of 21,382); in Kagoma-Yeskwa District of Jema'a Emirate Division, Plateau Province (a possible 382 of 6,915), in 1938–9.

The total for Jaba of Zaria Province in 1948–9 is 25,356; the total for the three Provinces concerned is therefore *c.* 26,500.

3:Temple G-4 (no date)1922 FF38 Katab FF38
Kagoma

KAGOMA.

AUTHORITIES :

Mr. D. Cater. Mr. Y. Kirkpatrick.
Mr. H. F. Mathews.

101 161 162 The Kagoma occupy an area of 166 square miles in the Jemaa Emirate, Nassarawa Province, where they have a population of some 4,500, men being slightly in preponderance over women.

* Compare Kagoro.

3: Temple G-4 (no date)1922 FF38 Katab ~~FF38~~ Kagoma

It has been suggested that they formed part of a large group which migrated from the north-west of Zaria, which includes the Kagoro, Attakka, Jaba, Kaje, Kaura and Moroa, to whom they show a certain affinity in language, customs and dress.

They speak a dialect of their own, and the majority know Haussa also.

Their Chief, "Dem," pointed out to Osuman, first Emir of Jemaa, the desirability of the site, and voluntarily paid tribute to Zaria through Jemaa. Circ. 1859 A.D. they ceased to pay, and a large proportion of the population were burnt out in caves in the resulting punitive expedition. Small raids continued until 1894, when they were finally subdued by the Filane and acknowledged the suzerainty of the Emir of Jemaa, to whom the Kagoma District head is now responsible.

The two acknowledged crimes were murder and theft. A murderer was required to give a bull to the bereaved family, whilst a thief was detained until his relatives paid a horse to the Sarkin Jemaa and two goats to his captors.

They are excellent agriculturists. Boys are given miniature hoes at the age of three years old.

They are of good physique.

The men wear a triangular-shaped leather loin-covering, or a skin that hangs from the shoulder, and bind their beards with grass. They carry wooden swords.

Virgins wear an apron of green strings ornamented with cowries and brass bells. Married women wear a loin-cloth.

Nearly all the villages are situated on the top of the hills, amongst almost inaccessible rocks. The huts are of mud, surmounted by conical-shaped grass roofs. The interior is divided into three partitions by means of mud-arches projecting from the wall.*

A girl may be betrothed before her birth, the *fiancé* undertaking that should the unborn babe prove to be a boy he will be its friend all through life. Such an arrangement is, however, of rare occurrence, the custom being for a girl to be engaged to the first man who gives her parents a fowl and bespeaks her after her birth. The suitor further gives her father a hoe or 2,000 cowries every year, until the girl has arrived at marriageable age at about ten years; as the marriage day approaches he gives the bride's father a further present of five chickens. On the day itself, six of his boy friends enter her parents' house, where she is hidden amongst the women, find and capture her, and take her to one of the groom's female relations. They return at night, give the custodian a chicken and take the bride to the groom's house, where he is awaiting her with three male friends who proceed to address the young pair on the duties

* *Vide* Jaba, p. 163.

3: Temple G-4 (no date)1922 FF38 Katab FF38
Kaje

KAIBI.

The Kaibi inhabit the western part of the Guri Srubu hills, in the Sarkin Kauru District, Southern Division of Zaria Province, together with their neighbours the Rishua, Ruruma, and Rumaya (Dan Galadima District), each of whom speak their own language or dialect.

They are all pagans, but a few of the Rumaya have become converts to Islam.

They were first administered in 1907, and are described as backward peoples.

The only notes concerning them refer to the Kaibi.

Betrothals are made when the principals are children. It is customary for the girl to sow corn and rice and carry them when harvested to her suitor.

The marriage is celebrated when the couple have attained puberty.

A man accused of murder was conducted to the tsafi place outside the town, and asked whether he could swear his innocence by the great god Kashiri, on an arrow, in the following terms: "I swear by Kashiri that this is the truth. If I lie may this arrow kill me. When I shoot may the arrow turn backwards from my bow and pierce my body and kill me."

KAJE.

AUTHORITIES:

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Capt. J. M. Fremantle.	Major Tremearne.
Mr. Y. Kirkpatrick.	Mr. G. W. Webster.

The Kaje, or Kajji, occupy an area of some 166 square miles in the Jemaa Emirate of Nassarawa Province, where they number some 6,000, men being in preponderance over women, and the Maaji District of Zaria Emirate, where, together with the Jaba, they number some 2,000.

They have a tradition that they once lived on a big river, and that they took part in a general migration from West to East, though Zaria is mentioned vaguely as their place of origin.

They show affinity to the Katab, Kagoro, Moroa and Attakka tribes, though at one time they conducted successful warfare against the Kagoro. Those still living in Zaria Province state that many groups broke off from the main body.

Though they are closely allied to and intermarry with the Attakka their languages are distinct. They all speak Hausa.

[This is not a sub-group of the Katab.—Ed Anal]

3:Temple G-4 (no date)1922 FF38 Katab FF38

KATAB.

101 161 The Katab are situated in the Kauru District in the south-west of Zaria Emirate, where they occupy an area of some 200 square miles with a population of 5,000; they have also one township over the border in Nassarawa Province.

101 619 304 They are probably indigenous to their district. They show a certain affinity to the Kagoro and kindred tribes, who have adopted the Katab tribal marks, invented only two generations ago by a skilful operator, which consist of numerous short perpendicular cuts along the forehead from ear to ear and thirteen or more long slanting lines on each cheek from ear to chin. The incisions are painted with soot.

197 Their language, too, resembles that of the Kagoro, Kaje, Attakka and Moroa, and their customs are similar.

291 301 302 304 The women wear a bunch of leaves in front, and a conical shaped piece of bamboo, covered with string and decorated with beads and brass behind. They place wooden plugs in their upper and lower lips and shave their heads.

241 674 852 The Katab are good agriculturalists and breed a considerable quantity of live-stock. They are great highwaymen, and the first drop of water that an infant drinks is stolen, that he may be thus early initiated in the craft.

771 823 They are a pagan people, with belief in sorcery. There is a rock named Dutsin Kerrima in Nassarawa Province, which they declare becomes luminous every Sunday and Friday night, when white cattle are seen on the summit, herded by a white Filane girl.

727 273 They are head hunters and drink heavily.

41. As pointed out in the Kano and Plateau Reports it is necessary that the greatest care should be taken when such "registration" takes place in order that no doubt can be left as to precisely what the lender of the land is giving and the borrower receiving. The need for some such form of registration could not be better illustrated than by the District Head's realisation of the need and his attempt to meet that need. Plateau Report paragraph 130. Kano Report paragraph 71. 423 689 217

42. The produce of economic trees belongs to the owner of the farm on which the tree stands. It does not pass either with exchange, loan or pledge. The produce of economic trees not on farmlands, *e.g.*, the oil palms in the kurumi, is held to be public property and anyone is at liberty to take it. There appear to be no particular or special prescriptive rights to particular persons in regard to economic trees. Sylvan produce. 422

JABA KWOI DISTRICT

43. Some distance to the west of the Kagoro district and separated from it by a spur of the Zaria Emirate lies the Jaba Kwoi independent district. Until 1934 it was administered as part of the Plateau Province. In that year, however, it was detached from the Plateau Province and became an independent district of the Zaria Province within which the rest of the Jaba tribe reside under Emirate control. The Emirate boundary thus divides the Jabawa of whom there are about 24,500, 14,000 of whom live in the independent district and 10,500 in the Kachia district of the Zaria Emirate. This Emirate boundary marks the boundary between those Jabawa who accepted Fulani domination and those who continued to resist and retained their independence by hiding in the once thickly forested valleys of their district. 101 131 [161] [648]

44. The attempt to relate territorial village units of the Jaba Kwoi independent district with separate kindreds or family groups was here, as with the Kagoro, abortive. Whatever may have been the basis of land tenure in the past there can be no doubt that it is now, in the great majority of cases, individual. The family or extended family holding of land is abundantly less common than that of the individual. The reason for this state of affairs lies, as with the Kagoro, in the continual harrying and dispersal of the original inhabitants by the Fulani. Kindred lands were of necessity widely fragmented and with neither the cohesion of a settled existence or of a compact living space the kindred holding concept was undermined. Support for this theory is very evident in the fact, reverted to in paragraph 63 below, that the Jabawa who accepted Fulani domination and consequently were not widely scattered and harried still retain this concept and still have compact lands. Breakdown to individual tenure. 621 423

would not allow land to lie fallow for ten years even— 423
for fear of claim jumping; 426

(*ii*) even if left for two seasons a farm would become so hard and sunbaked that it would need a major operation to bring it back into cultivation;

(*iii*) if a farm were left unfarmed for a few seasons bush fires would destroy the economic trees and since the existence of economic trees is *prima facie* evidence of the land having been occupied an occupier would not wish to loose this evidence.

Economic trees.

55. The four economic trees are dorowa, attile, oil palm and bambami, the latter a shrub whose bark is used as a dye. The owner of a farm is entitled to the produce of all the economic trees on it— 422 245
even after he has loaned it or pledged it to another. No prescriptive rights in any particular trees seem to be recognised nowadays though it is recorded, in a Zaria file, that two men were once victimised for not taking attile nuts to the Village Head. It was stated in the Administrative Report that this was a survival of an old custom. There was a public announcement to the effect that this payment might go on as a gift but could not be *enforced*. There is no trace of it now.

P.C.J. 2051/34, page 89.

56. It will be seen that there is surprisingly little divergence in custom or practice regarding land tenure in these two small independent districts. The pattern follows much of what has been described by Mr Rowling in his Plateau Report—apart from the complications met there caused by the tin mining industry. [184]

PAGAN AREAS UNDER EMIRATE CONTROL
KACHIA DISTRICT

District organisation.

57. Before passing on to a pagan tribe wholly included in the Emirate it may be convenient to consider the remainder of the Jawaba who reside within the Emirate. They occupy the south and south-easterly portions of the Kachia district. This district consists of the Hausa enclave of Kachia, from which the district is administered, and elements of the Kaje, Kadara and Kuturmi tribes. 101 563

Details are:—

Jabawa	...	...	...	...	10,539
Kadara	...	...	...	...	7,173
Hausa	...	...	...	...	2,994
Kuturmi	...	...	...	...	2,834
Kaje	...	...	...	...	798

[161]

~~10~~

[p. 16]

101
563 58. The Kaje elements to be found in this district live near the eastern border adjoining the main body of the Kaje tribe living in the Zangon Katab district. They live partly within the Hausa enclave—the Gumel and Mazuga villages—and partly within the Jabawa tribal lands. Those in the Jabawa area live on *borrowed* lands; those in the Hausa enclave on their *own* lands through which the administrative boundary cuts. This is a point which may lead to confusion at some future date. [61] The Kadara are similarly situated. The main body of Kadara who number some 21,246 in the Province are to be found in the adjoining Kajuru district. The district boundary runs through the tribal area—probably for reasons stated in paragraph 14 above and because a purely tribal boundary for administrative purpose would be very complicated and produce little effective difference, *qua* administration. The Kuturmi are an interesting relic. They are said to have come originally from Kano City and are a branch of the Kutumbawa who reside there to this present day.

Jabawa tenure Kachia District.

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423
612
621 59. The pattern of tenure amongst the Kachia Jaba is very similar to that obtaining with the Kwoi Jaba. There are, however, two very significant differences. We have seen (paragraph 44 above) that with the Kwoi Jaba it was impossible to correlate the social pattern with the land pattern. In the Kachia district the Jaba almost at once stated that their five territorial village units were, except for a minor amount of interchange, identical with the five kindreds of the tribe. The Wenyum kindred were to be found in Gidan Tagwai village unit, Dun in Jaban Kogo, Kudak in Kwaturu, Chorr in Kurmin Musa and Ngeh at Gidan Jibir. Members of the latter two kindreds, they stated, would be found amongst the Jaba Kwoi but none of the first three.

Breakdown to individual tenure less pronounced.

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595
556 60. The second significant difference is in the extent of the breakdown to the individual basis. Whereas in Kwoi individual farming was the rule and not the exception in the Kachia district farming on a family basis was the rule with the Jaba and individual holdings the exception. This difference is well known to the Jaba themselves who explain it thus. The Jaba Kwoi are a poverty stricken people who can only run to one wife apiece as a normal rule whereas they can run to four or five—even ten on occasions. The Jaba Kwoi youths are an irresponsible lot who go running off to the mines to make money and do not look after their lands properly; their own youths stay at home and become good farmers on the family lands. Shades of the ' resistance movement ' that lead to the ancestors of the Jaba Kwoi continuing the struggle when their weaker brethren succumbed!

Jaba
Hausa MS12

appeal beyond the local Native Court. This point will be dealt with at a later stage of the report. It may be said, here, that such appeals are so extremely rare as to be almost non-existent.

70. Except for the Kaje there is little if any immigration by aliens on to the Jaba lands. Immigration.

ZANGON KATAB DISTRICT

71. The Administrative Organisation of this district is identical with that described in paragraphs 14 and 57. There is a central Hausa enclave, in which the District Head has his headquarters and from which the district is administered. This is surrounded by lands of the various pagan tribes, principally the Katab, Kaje and Chawai. Population details are :—

Hausa	5,587		
Kaje	21,633	(22,446)	(the balance in Kachia District).
Katab	16,471	(19,243)	(the balance in Moroa and Kagoro).
Chawai ...	8,653	(8,653)	
Ikulu	5,533	(5,533)	
Kamantan ...	3,409	(3,409)	
Others	1,573		

The figures in brackets indicate the total number of the tribe in the Province.

72. The Hausa enclave consists of a small town surrounded by its farmlands and fallow with a few outlying hamlets—the normal Hausa pattern. It has existed for a very considerable time, well over a hundred years, its inhabitants having come in the first place as conquerors and established themselves on what were once Katab lands by right of conquest. It was the most far flung outpost of the old Kauru fief. The present boundaries of the enclave were established some thirty years ago by the British administration. They were readjusted some twelve years ago to include additional lands as the original area was found to be inadequate. Any further 'adjustment' of this nature would lead to complications as the Katab and Kaje themselves have little if any spare lands. (*See* Political Memorandum No. 8, paragraph 32, exception (*c*)). As we have seen, in paragraph 70 above, the Kaje themselves are 'borrowing' land from the Jaba area and, paragraph 19, the Katab have encroached into the Kagoro district. The dissolution of the Katab village unit of Tum and its absorption into the Kagoro unit of Fada has a significance in this connection. The Hausa enclave.

[p.20]